Shrines in the Central Islamic Lands

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The Islamic world is replete with devotional sites, perhaps nowhere more densely concentrated than in the area known as the central Islamic lands, a designation that includes Iraq, Egypt, and *Bilad al-Sham* or "Greater Syria" (today Israel, Palestine, Syria, and Jordan). Many of the most important Muslim shrines are located here, and their veneration forms a major engine of the economic, spiritual, and devotional life of the area today as it did in the medieval period. This region has a special place within Muslim piety for two reasons. First, it contains the territory perceived by adherents of all three monotheistic faiths to be the "Holy Land" (*ard al-muqaddasa*), where the events of the Bible and New Testament took place and where many Muslim holy figures also resided. Second, for the Shi'a, Syria and Iraq are home to many of the holiest shrines and shrine cities, sites that commemorate key events in the early Shi'i spiritual narrative.

Prior to the coming of Islam, the Holy Land had been envisioned by Jews and Christians as the biblical terrain of coastal Palestine and, above all, the city of Jerusalem. Thus, when Muslims initially settled in this region, they encountered a longstanding, vibrant landscape of devotion centered on worship at sites commemorating biblical prophets, Talmudic sages, and Christian saints. Indeed, the growth and development of varied cults of saints dedicated to holy men, pious women, martyrs, and ascetics was one hallmark of the late Antique and early medieval period in the Eastern Mediterranean.[1]

Among Christians in the fourth and fifth centuries, these cults had spurred the development of a formalized, interlinked itinerary of pilgrimage sites that had instigated major architectural patronage in the form of mausolea, churches, martyria, and vast pilgrimage complexes. Sites in and around the city of Jerusalem were the primary objects of pilgrimage for Christians and Jews, although other locales also received generous patronage in this period, particularly under the Byzantine emperor Justinian: for example Rusafa (Sergiopolis) (fourth century A.D.) and Qala'at Semaan (A.D. 475) in northern Syria, or sites of intensive interfaith pilgrimage and worship like Saydnaya (A.D. 547), northeast of Damascus.[2] Similarly, in both Iraq and Egypt Muslims encountered a vibrant Jewish and Christian pilgrimage landscape. In Iraq, sites holy to biblical prophets such as Ezekiel were beloved by both Jews and Christians, while in Egypt, a network of Coptic pilgrimage sites had flourished.[3] Subsequently, in the centuries following the Islamic conquest, and becoming pronounced in the middle Islamic period, a uniquely Islamic sacred topography was generated, one that often coexisted with these previous sites and at the same time marked the landscape as holy to Muslims. In particular, over the course of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries A.D., the initial Jerusalem-centric boundaries of the old Jewish and Christian Holy Land expanded, generating a new Islamic sacred landscape that now encompassed much of the area of Greater Syria.[4]

Saint Veneration in Islam

Islamic shrines have many names, and an equally varied architectural legacy. They may be called *qubba* (dome), *turba* or *darih* (burial place), *mashhad* (place of witnessing), or

mazar (place of visitation). These terms are fluid and tend not to be consistent in their application to specific architectural types. However, in terms of form, most shrines fall into two broad categories: a simple, cubical funeral chamber surmounted by a dome (often called a *qubba* or *turba*), or a more complex plan having some variation on a courtyard, domed tomb chamber, and assembly rooms/prayer hall.[5] Assembly rooms may be domed, flat roofed, or covered by *iwan*s (barrel-vaulted halls). Thus, aside from the typical presence of the cubical, domed form over the burial chamber, there is no single architectural pattern for Muslim shrines.

Regardless of architectural form or the term employed, all Islamic shrines share the characteristic of memorializing the vestiges or traces (*athar*) of the holy person – who either passed by the place in question, performed some miracle on the spot, or was buried there – or of memorializing a relic associated with them. Such cults of relics were less frequent in the earlier periods, but became popular by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when we find reports of pieces of fabric, weapons, footprints, and frequently, sacred stones associated with saintly Muslims. The geographer Yaqut (d. 1229), for example, lists the relics held in the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, while the pilgrimage guide author ʻAli al-Harawi (d. 1215) speaks about a stone from which Moses had drawn water during the Exodus.[6] Such references are frequent in the Arabic sources. These objects were revered for their powers of healing, both spiritual and physical. As with such practices in other religious traditions, the veneration of holy figures in Islam is closely reliant on both the experiential and phenomenological aspects of devotion – on feeling, touching, and tasting traces of the saint and thus partaking of his/her *baraka* (blessed emanations).[7] At the same time, holy sites validate and reify oral and textual narratives

describing concrete religio-historical events. Practices related to reverence for holy figures are therefore among the primary vehicles for the performance and reaffirmation of historical or communal memory.

The veneration of holy figures in Islam is a complex of informal, loosely associated beliefs and practices with numerous local and confessional variations. Furthermore, while Muslim saint veneration shares certain characteristics with the more well-studied Christian tradition, it also differs profoundly. Similar in both traditions are the general reasons believers visit holy locales: like Christians and Jews, Muslims also visit shrines both to pay homage to the memory of a deceased holy figure, to make vows of repentance, and to receive some tangible spiritual or physical assistance by means of the saint's mediating power (*shafa'a*). Also similar are the sorts of benefits one might expect to receive: a deepening of spiritual connection, healing from disease, the observation or experience of miracles, and the communal experience of connection with other believers. Muslim saints, like those of other traditions, are envisioned as intercessionary figures, who occupy a liminal space between the believer and God and who have powers to mediate on behalf of supplicants. However, unlike in the Christian context, Muslim saints acquired their holy status not through a formal process of investiture by a centralized Church, but rather through the far more eclectic process of becoming "beloved by the people." Simply put, if a figure came to be loved and venerated, and particularly if they had been associated with the performance of miracles (*karamat*), s/he was considered a saint. The term "saint" then, although used here for the lack of a better English term, is not to be understood as an official designation with the backing of formal theological opinion (as in the Christian context), but rather, as an

indication of holy status based on communal consensus and religious praxis.[8] Because saint veneration in Islam is far more informal and non-hierarchized than in the Christian context, Muslim scholars and writers appear to have been less focused on a tradition of official hagiography of the sort needed to justify and explain Christian sainthood. Instead, the medieval sources on saints and saintly locales reflect an integration of saint worship into the realm of the everyday. Accordingly, accounts of saints' lives and descriptions of their shrines tend to be found within a rich corpus of texts having a broader focus: including chronicles, pilgrimage guides, biographical dictionaries, and *fada'il* (praise) literature. These sources often contain accounts of miracles, saintly manifestations, and visions associated with holy figures.[9]

In Islamic legal thought, the practice of shrine visitation, called *ziyara*, is distinguished from formal pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca. The Hajj is incumbent upon all Muslims at least once in their lifetime (if their economic situation allows): indeed, *hajj* is one of the five basic ritual obligations of Islam. The role and status of shrine visitation, on the other hand, differs between the sects. While *ziyara* was always an integral part of both Sunni and Shi'i worship, for Sunnis the legality of the practice was cause for some debate, whereas for Shi'is, the central place of devotion to members of the Prophet's family ensured that the performance of *ziyara* always had a vital role in religious life. Indeed, some of the earliest shrines are located at sites devoted to the Family of the Prophet. These figures were beloved by both Sunnis and Shi'is, but their veneration traditionally had a more prominent role in Shi'i devotional practice. Shi'ism never developed a tradition of interrogating the legality of the practice of shrine visitation – on the contrary, practices associated with the *ziyara* became an essential aspect of Shi'i

religious experience. However, within Sunni legal circles, *ziyara* held a more contested theological place, and critiques of it arose in Iraq as early as two centuries after the founding of Islam.[10] Thus, we find that among the earliest collections of *hadith* (the Islamic Tradition, or corpus of legal exemplars deriving from the behavior and words of the Prophet Muhammad), there were admonitions derived from the Prophet's preference for the *taswiyat al-qubur* or "leveling of tombs" to the ground, a practice envisioned as the appropriate expression of the Islamic doctrine of the equality of all human beings in death.[11]

However, Sunni opposition to shrine visitation was by no means uniform, and such criticisms probably reflected an anxiety among Sunnis about the popular practice of certain seemingly "idolatrous" Christian and Jewish devotional rituals.[12] Thus, it is difficult to find *hadith* advocating the wholesale rejection of the practice of *ziyara*. More common are critiques of specific activities at burial places: for example praying at gravesites, making sacrifices, marking the grave or making an inscription for it, and erecting buildings over it. However, the detail and specificity of the legal sanctions marshaled against shrine visitation probably only confirms the widespread persistence and ubiquity of these activities in practice.[13] Thus, it should be emphasized that despite the early criticism noted above, and including some later condemnations that arose after the eighth/fourteenth century discussions of Ibn Taymiyya and others,[14] there is little evidence of broad resistance to the practice of visitation *per se* by more than a restricted group of legal scholars. In general, in all eras and among most Muslims of both elite and popular backgrounds, it was seen as at best, a highly meritorious – and at worst, a sometimes suspect but nevertheless, largely beneficial – adjunct to canonical religious

practice.[15] Ayyubid and Mamluk-era scholars such as al-Ghazali (d. 1111), Ibn Qudama (d. 1223), and al-Nawawi (d. 1277), were deeply concerned with the proper etiquette of pilgrimage, but never forbade visitation itself, indeed they advocated for its performance, often enthusiastically.[16]

Furthermore, as just noted, protestations against saint veneration should probably be read not as reflective of normative practice and attitudes, but rather as evidence for the very popularity of such devotion. Support for this proposition abounds: for example, elaborate grave markers and structures appear to have existed from the earliest periods, and they attracted the believers in large enough numbers for some legal scholars to exhort against them.[17] Shrines and other commemorative structures, including vast cemeteries filled with lavishly ornamented mausolea, were built from the earliest years after the establishment of the Islamic community and are among the most frequently patronized architectural constructions in Islamic lands from medieval times until the present. The medieval sources are replete with descriptions of people from all walks of life visiting shrines, performing acts of devotion, and of the miracles associated with saintly locales. Thus, from the outset, there was a tension between legal disapproval of saint veneration among some Sunni religious scholars and actual practice: for in all periods, ordinary Muslims and members of the religious and ruling elite alike embraced these activities, apparently without regard for scholarly sanction. Thus, while Sunni and Shi'i shrine visitation is often discussed in the academic literature as two separate and non-overlapping phenomena – in which Sunnism abjured the practice while Shi'ism embraced it and even perhaps caused the growth of the phenomenon – this division is artificial and has probably been exaggerated.[18] Saint veneration was widespread at all times and

regardless of sectarian affiliation, and differences between the two sects with respect to such practices are probably differences of emphasis, not of kind.

In the central Islamic lands, among both Sunnis and Shi'is, the practice of *ziyara* seems to have been a natural outgrowth of three things: the continuation and elaboration of pre-Islamic devotional practices for the biblical prophets and holy figures of the Jewish and Christian traditions; reverence for the Prophet's family – a sentiment shared by all Muslim communities, though particularly pronounced within Shi'ism; and, lastly, veneration of learned rulers, preachers, scholars and Sufis, a phenomenon that becomes widespread in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[19]

Veneration of Biblical Prophets and Jewish and Christian Holy Figures

Muslims revered the Biblical prophets and other Jewish and Christian holy figures. [20] Research for this aspect of devotional practice is still in its early stages, however, some preliminary observations can be made. Shrines for Biblical prophets such as Abraham and Ezekiel are mentioned in the earliest Arabic praise literature and pilgrimage guides, as are some shrines for Christian holy figures. For example, the medieval geographer al-Muqaddasi, writing in 986, begins his narrative by saying that "Syria is the abode of the prophets, the habitation of the righteous, the home of the successors to the Prophet…", indicating that a kind of hierarchy of holy figures was in place from an early date.[21] By the early thirteenth century, such references are commonplace, and authors such as al-Harawi and Yaqut recount legions of traditions regarding the locations of shrines for the prophets and also for Christian figures such as 'Isa (Jesus), Maryam (Mary), and John the Baptist, although like many Muslim sites, their accounts are frequently marked by some

skepticism as to whether the sites were genuine and accompanied by opinions and arguments for the authenticity of one location over another. Some sites, such as the competing shrines for Moses in Jericho and Damascus, remained contested, leading to active competition for pilgrims well into modern times.[22] Meanwhile, others transformed over time, as the site of a shrine for Joshua near Tiberias did, later becoming a shrine for Jesus.[23]

Jerusalem was Islam's third-holiest city, after Mecca and Medina. Thus, as was the case for Christians and Jews, the city was also the focus of Muslim veneration of the biblical prophets. Jerusalem was the original *qibla*, or direction Muslims faced for prayer, until Muhammad received a revelation to change the *qibla* to Mecca (Qur'an 2:144). Still, despite the change, the city remained an important site. Its holiest location, the raised platform and *temenos* area of the ruined Temple of Solomon, was soon graced with one of Islam's most notable and enigmatic buildings, the Dome of the Rock (691), along with the expansive and elegant al-Aqsa Mosque (709-15) (W-Fig. 1). Muslims call the site the *Haram al-Sharif* ("Noble Sanctuary"). In addition to the prophets Solomon and Muhammad, the Dome of the Rock is also associated with the biblical Abraham, for the rock is thought to have been the location where Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son. The area continued to be revered for its Biblical associations, but later, came to be associated with the *mi'raj* (the Ascension or Night Journey) of the Prophet Muhammad. In the narrative of the *mi'raj*, Muhammad is guided by the angel Gabriel through the various levels of heaven, until he is eventually ushered into the presence of the throne of God. The Dome of the Rock, built by the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (r. 685-705), was likely originally intended to convey a message of religio-political

sovereignty by linking Islam to the region's biblical past, but was later identified as the site from whence Muhammad began this heavenly journey.[24] Thus, although the Dome of the Rock does not memorialize the burial place of a holy person, it fulfils many of the same functions as a shrine – Muslims make *ziyara* to the site and perform a sequence of pilgrimage-related activities such as prayer, observation of and entreaty for miracles, and ritual activities such as circumambulation and recitation of narratives associated with the holy place.[25] In addition to Abraham, Jerusalem is linked with many other biblical prophets and Christian figures, including David and Solomon, who are buried there, Jonah, whose family came from Jerusalem, and Saint Joseph, who fled to Egypt from the city with Mary and Jesus.[26]

Judging from the frequency of their appearance in the Arabic sources, shrines for the biblical prophets were visited by Muslims as often as exclusively "Islamic" ones. Indeed, countless shrines for the prophets are described by medieval writers. The prophet Abraham, father of all three monotheistic faiths, had many holy sites associated with him, from multiple locales commemorating his birthplace – for example outside of Damascus, in Sawad in the Hawran, or Iraq[27] – to several sites at which he prepared to sacrifice his son[28] and the location of his house.[29] In some towns, including Aleppo and Mosul, there was a sacred itinerary associated with Abraham, with multiple stations.[30]

The place of Abraham's burial in the Cave of the Patriarchs, known in Arabic as the Haram al-Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron/al-Khalil is one of the most venerable pilgrimage places in Greater Syria (Fig. 1).[31] It is the second-holiest Jewish site after the Temple Mount, and for the Muslims of Greater Syria it was likewise considered the second-holiest site for *ziyara*.[32] Indeed, Sanjar al-Jawali, a powerful amir under the

Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (r. 1293-4, 1299-1309, and 1309-41), was given the title *Amir al-Haramayn* or "Amir of the two Sacred Enclosures" to indicate that he oversaw the administration of both the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the mosque in Hebron.[33] The shrine is one of the oldest continuously-venerated sites in the central Islamic lands, and has intact Roman-era (Herodian) foundations and a medieval superstructure. In the Islamic era, it was first remodeled in the late eleventh century by the Fatimid general Badr al-Jamali. It was then transformed into a Romanesque basilica in Crusader times, and subsequently completely renovated by Saladin in 1187, who changed the basilica into a mosque after his reconquest of Hebron. Later, no less than three phases of restoration occurred in the Mamluk period, under Amir Tankiz al-Nasiri, Mamluk deputy in Bilad al-Sham from 1312–40; Amir 'Alam al-Din Sanjar al-Jawali (early fourteenth century); and Sultan al-Zahir Barquq (1382–9 and 1390–9). Today the shrine, built over a grotto containing the graves of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and their wives, consists of a large, rectangular outer enclosure (approximately 60 m by 34 m), a courtyard, and a mosque with two Mamluk-era minarets. The spectacular *minbar* (pulpit) dated to 1091-2, is one of the masterworks of Islamic wooden marquetry and possibly the earliest wooden minbar still in use (W-Fig. 2). It is an important early example of geometric strapwork integrated with vegetal arabesque designs.[34] The pulpit was originally commissioned by Badr al-Jamali for the shrine of the head of al-Husayn in Ascalon and was subsequently moved to Hebron by Saladin. The *mihrab* (niche indicating the direction of prayer) and the walls of the prayer area are decorated with elegant interlaced polychrome decoration added by Tankiz al-Nasiri in 1332.

Other shared Biblical sites were also revered. In the village of Ramah (Nabi Simwayl) outside Jerusalem, a shrine for the Prophet Samuel was an important Jewish pilgrimage site, and appears to have had a mosque or prayer room to accommodate the site's many Muslim visitors,[35] while in Petra an ostensibly Jewish shrine for Aaron was maintained by Muslims.[36] Shrines for some prophets, like Elijah/al-Khadir, were actively patronized by all groups.[37] Many of these sites were "rediscovered" during the Zangid and Ayyubid periods, probably in response to a heightened awareness of the holiness of the land of Palestine and Syria in the aftermath of the Crusades.[38] Although most Biblical and Christian holy sites were located in Palestine and Syria, other locales in the central Islamic lands were also dedicated to such figures. In Egypt there were shrines for Joseph, Jacob, and Moses, among others, marking key events in the biblical narratives associated with them,[39] and Iraq had numerous sites linked to prophets. Near the village of Thamanin on the upper Tigris, for example, is the site where Noah's ark alighted.[40] In the citadel of Mosul was a shrine for Abraham and the tomb of St. George, over which a Chaldean church, now ruined, was built.[41] Al-Harawi mentions a shrine for Ezekiel, known in Arabic as Dhu al-Kifl, south of al-Hilla, and a shrine for Daniel exists inside the 4,600-year-old citadel in Kirkuk.[42]

It was also not uncommon for shrines to commingle Jewish and Christian saints and relics, as at the Station of Abraham in the Aleppo citadel, where according to the medieval pilgrimage guide author 'Ali al-Harawi, there was a piece of John the Baptist's head (the remainder of which was enshrined in a special enclosure inside the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, where it remains until today).[43] Other ostensibly Christian sites were, and continue to be, venerated by Muslims, including Jesus' birthplace in

Bethlehem, the tomb of Mary in Jerusalem, and the minaret of Jesus at the Great Mosque of Damascus, which has a key place in Muslim eschatology as the location at which Jesus will descend to herald the arrival of the last days.[44] Major sites of pilgrimage like the church of S. Sergius at Sergiopolis/Rusafa in Syria had long histories of shared Christian-Muslim interaction, indeed the cathedral and mosque directly abut each other, sharing a wall and facilitating direct passage between the two buildings.[45] The pilgrimage church at Saydnaya, commemorating Mary, continues to be among the most important shared sites of pilgrimage in Syria and is visited each Friday by numerous Muslim pilgrims who make entreaties before its icon,[46] while the long-abandoned medieval Christian site of Mar Musa al-Habashi (Saint Moses the Ethiopian), 80 km north of Damascus, has been reinvented in the past few decades by local Syrians as a site of active interfaith exchange.[47] There is every reason to believe that in the past, as they frequently do today, Jews, Christians, and Muslims shared such sites.

Veneration of the Family of the Prophet

The earliest shrines of a distinctly Islamic character appeared at the burial places of the Prophet's family, and the sources indicate reverence for their tombs from the nascent years of the Islamic community.[48] The shrines no doubt flourished as part of a culture of mourning that developed in the aftermath of the martyrdom of numerous holy figures central to Shi'i communal identity, but they were also frequently visited by Sunnis. While the Prophet's daughter Fatima and the second Shi'i Imam, al-Hasan, were buried in the cemetery of al-Baqi in Medina, most of the other descendents of the Prophet were buried in the central Islamic lands or in Iran. Tombs and *mashhad*s (places of memorial) for the

family of the Prophet and for the ‘Alids (the Prophet’s descendents through the lineage of his cousin and son-in-law, ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib) were present in this region already in the second half of the ninth century.

The largest concentrations of individual shrines are found in Cairo, in the great Qarafa al-Kubra cemetery to the south of the city,[49] and in Damascus, where members of the Prophet’s family and martyrs from the battle of Karbala are buried in the Bab al-Saghir cemetery.[50] Most of these are quite modest in plan, however, in Iraq, where the Shi’i population was larger, they became great shrine cities, centered around *ziyara* as a central economic engine, supporting illustrious scholarly communities, large libraries, and immense shrine complexes. In addition to the shrine for Husayn’s body at Karbala, the Iraqi sites include Najaf, burial place of the Prophet’s cousin and son-in-law (and first Imam of the Shi’a), ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib (Fig. 2); Kazimayn, where the Seventh and Ninth Imams Musa al-Kazim and Muhammad al-Taqi are resting; and sites such as Samarra, where shrines for the Tenth and Eleventh Imams ‘Ali al-Hadi and Hasan al-‘Askari are located, and where there is also a shrine to the Twelfth Imam al-Mahdi, who went into occultation (hiding) on the spot. Today, many of these shrines are vast complexes situated around a large open courtyard preceding a domed shrine area, with numerous rooms and buildings attached that are used for teaching and religious assembly. A number of the shrines, for example at Kazimayn, date to the Buyid period (934-1055) or earlier, and at other locations the present shrines date to periods of reconstruction under the Safavid Shahs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[51] But some evidence indicates earlier histories for many sites. ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib’s shrine at Najaf, for example, is believed to have been founded by the ‘Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid (786-

809),[52] and the Hamdanid ruler of Syria and Northern Iraq ‘Abdallah ibn Hamdan (905-929) is said by the tenth century geographer Ibn Hawqal to have built a stately dome over the site.[53] Al-Muqaddasi (d. 1000) also records shrines at the graves of ‘Ali and Husayn in Iraq.[54]

Among the first, and certainly the most beloved, of the Shi’i martyrs was Husayn ibn ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad and the third Imam of the Shi’a. He was killed on the battlefield of Karbala’ in Iraq on the orders of the Sunni Umayyad caliph Yazid on the tenth of Muharram, year 61 of the Islamic calendar (A.D. 680). Following his death, his body was buried at Karbala’, while his head was carried as a trophy back to the Umayyad caliph in Damascus. Its journey from Iraq to Syria was soon traced by the appearance of a trail of shrines to mark each place along the route where the head rested, paused, or a drop of blood fell on a stone in its passing.[55] These *mashhad*s (shrines) for Husayn were some of the earliest outside of the Hijaz (the region of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina in Arabia), and the constellation of shrines that stretched from Karbala’ to Damascus and eventually to Cairo are perhaps the only true sacred route within Islam. Al-Harawi mentions at least seven shrines for him.[56] Nor were the sites static, for shrines to Husayn continued to be discovered and “rediscovered” throughout Islamic history: in fact, the rediscovery of shrines is one of the main mechanisms by which devotional culture was perpetuated and sustained in the medieval period.[57]

The anniversary of Husayn’s death, called the ‘Ashura (“Tenth” after the tenth day of the month of Muharram on which he was killed), marks the climactic date of the Shi’i liturgical calendar, and its commemoration is the central moment of the

reaffirmation of the memory of this archetypal tragedy for the Shi'a. Today, among the Twelver (*ithna 'ashariyya*) Shi'a, ceremonies include processions of devotees who chant and beat their chests in symbolic sympathy with the suffering of al-Husayn, and in some regions of the Shi'i world a select group will intensify this experience of identification with the suffering of the holy figure by practicing rituals of mortification of the flesh, such as whipping the back with chains or cutting the forehead. These intensificatory practices, along with the more widely embraced procession itself, are always carried out in proximity to the shrine of the person in question or with the shrine as the end goal of the processional activity (W-Fig. 3).[58] However, many Shi'i believers, particularly those from the Isma'ili communities and others, reject these practices.

In addition to the burial place for al-Husayn's body at Karbala', two of the shrines for his head came to particular prominence, one at Ascalon on the coast of Palestine (now destroyed), where the head itself was miraculously rediscovered by the Fatimid vizir Badr al-Jamali in 1091. Later, 1153/4, to protect the relic from the advancing Crusaders it was removed and placed in a shrine in the Eastern Palace in Cairo, where it rested in the tomb of the Fatimid caliphs, the Turbat al-Za'faran.[59] The Cairene site remains an important holy place and is visited by multitudes of pilgrims daily (W-Fig. 4). But others also played an important role. In Syria, there was a shrine for Husayn in Damascus at the site where the head had been displayed as a trophy by the Umayyad caliph inside Bab al-Faradis, and until today, a shrine exists inside the Umayyad mosque. It is the focal point of visitation by pilgrims from around the Islamic world.

The most architecturally prominent of the Syrian shrines for the Prophet's family was the Mashhad al-Husayn in Aleppo, located to the west of the city on a hill known as

the Jebel Jawshan (Fig. 3). It was rediscovered in 1177–8 by a local shepherd.[60] This building has been called the most important medieval Shi'i structure in Syria.[61] Indeed, it is among the more remarkable of the Ayyubid buildings and an obvious aesthetic rival to the more famous madrasas from the period. However its pedigree as a "Shi'i" building is open to scrutiny, for its main patron was the Sunni Ayyubid Sultan of Aleppo, the son of Saladin, al-Malik al-Zahir (r. 1260-77).[62] He contributed to the building campaign in the form of a monumental entrance portal.

In plan, the building resembles many Ayyubid madrasas (W-Fig. 5). Oriented around a central courtyard, its main features are a five-bay domed prayer hall in the south, a large *iwan* to the west, and numerous smaller rooms. Al-Zahir's large, elaborately decorated portal, located at the entrance to the shrine on its eastern face and today preceded by a large exterior courtyard, is among the finest examples of the virtuosic tradition of Ayyubid stereotomy (stone cutting and fitting) (Fig. 4). The portal contains inscriptions praising both the Twelve Imams of the Shi'a and the four Rightly Guided Caliphs of the Sunnis, apparently a deliberately conciliatory choice by the patron al-Zaher. By his patronage of the shrine, the lavishness and visibility of its decoration, and the skillful juxtaposition of seemingly opposing messages, the Ayyubid Sultan al-Zahir, ruling over the largely Shi'i population of Aleppo, seems to have used the shrine as a rallying point for a policy of pragmatic sectarian coexistence. It would not be the first time 'Alid shrines were used for such a purpose: shrines for the Prophet's family in Iraq were also heavily patronized by al-Zahir's contemporary the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah (r. 1180-1225), most famously the site of the occultation of the

Twelfth Imam al-Mahdi at Samarra, for which he provided a lavish mosque and *mashhad* in the year 1209.[63]

Not all ‘Alid shrines in the central Islamic lands received such obvious exhortations for sectarian coexistence, and indeed shrines were just as frequently the focal points of sectarian conflict, particularly in Iraq, where sectarian tensions reached a high point in the mid-eleventh century.[64] But it is important to note that ‘Alid shrines were also particularly open to sectarian-neutral interpretive stances, and that they seem to have been used by patrons to engender awareness of a shared devotional culture. This is often overlooked in the academic literature, which tends to emphasize conflict over cooperation, and to still refer to such sites as “Shi’i” shrines, despite little evidence they were used exclusively, or even primarily, by Shi’is. On the whole, shrines are interpretively fluid sites and tend toward the egalitarian, a fact particularly relevant for ‘Alid shrines, beloved as they are by both Sunnis and Shi’is. This is not to deny the undoubtedly more central role of the ‘Alid shrines in Shi’i piety, but rather to emphasize the rather underappreciated function reverence for the ‘Alids serves also among Sunnis.[65]

Perhaps the most obvious example of this fluidity is in Cairo, though in that case, the sectarian dynamic was opposite that in northern Syria. In Cairo, the Shi’i Fatimid caliphs (r. 969-1171) patronized the largest concentration of individual ‘Alid shrines in the central Islamic lands.[66] The Fatimids were Isma’ili Shi’is, but their Egyptian subjects were largely Sunni. Over the course of the early twelfth century, they built and renovated numerous shrines. But the Fatimids did not invent the practice of reverence for the ‘Alids in Cairo – rather they capitalized on a long-established tradition of Sunni reverence for members of the Prophet’s family, many of whom are buried in the Qarafa al-Kubra

cemetery to the south of Cairo. There, Sunni reverence for the ‘Alid saints dates to at least the early ninth century, with the foundation of a shrine for Sayyida Nafisa, a pious ‘Alid descendant, in 824.[67] Later, between 1122 and 1154, the Fatimid caliphs officially sponsored this long-flourishing cult of ‘Alid saints, hoping to capitalize on the popularity of the practice to bolster support for their political and religious claims to the caliphate.

Veneration of Rulers, Scholars, and Sufis

Muslims also make *ziyara* to the graves of saintly figures like Sufis, scholars, theologians and rulers, people who had important religious, military, and political roles in the centuries subsequent to the establishment of Islam. Particularly in the twelfth-fifteenth centuries, such shrines proliferated.[68] The company and mentorship of learned and charismatic men (and occasionally also women) was ardently sought during these figures’ lifetimes, and their graves became objects of veneration after death. Rulers like Nur al-Din and his successor Saladin became saints because of their piety and heroic deeds, and supplicants began to visit their graves shortly after their burials. Two famous female saints were especially beloved, Rabi’a al-Shamiyya in Damascus, and Rabi’a al-‘Adawiyya in Basra, and there were many more.[69]

The graves of the founders of the Sunni law schools like Abu Hanifa (d. 767), in Baghdad, and Imam al-Shafi’i (d. 820), in Cairo, came to be important sites of pilgrimage, with madrasas built adjacent to their tombs and frequent intraconfessional struggles over their meanings and identities. In Cairo, one of Saladin’s first actions after becoming Sultan was to support the construction of a lavish mausoleum and madrasa at al-Shafi’i's grave, completed in 1176-7.[70] The site had been visited since the jurist’s

death, and Saladin's madrasa quickly became a popular site for legal study and veneration of the beloved scholar. The centerpiece of his shrine was a magnificent carved wooden cenotaph, a tour de force of medieval woodcarving (W-Fig. 6). The foundation inscription commemorates a scholar and Sufi named Najm al-Din al-Khabushani as the instigator of the project, and contains a clear statement in support of the Ash'ari theology embraced by the Shafi'i school. In 1211, Saladin's successor al-Malik al-Kamil ordered the expansion of the site, constructing a vast complex including a madrasa, kitchens, and an enlarged mausoleum (Fig. 5). With its towering dome over twenty-nine meters high, the shrine was the largest freestanding mausoleum in Egypt and one of the largest in the Islamic world, competing in visual prominence with such illustrious buildings as the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Medieval visitors described the throngs of pilgrims, students, and scholars that visited the site, and who gave the complex the air of a city unto itself.[71] The shrine complex played a significant role in the growth of the city of Cairo when its construction spurred the further development of the Qarafa al-Kubra cemetery below the Citadel.[72]

Sufi saints were known as *wali*s "Friends (of God)" or as *shaykh*s (leaders) of the Sufi brotherhoods, and their burial places also attracted many visitors, particularly after the expansion of institutionalized, *tariqa*-based Sufism in the twelfth-fifteenth centuries.[73] The spread of Sufism contributed to the development of new architectural types such as the *ribat* (lodge/hospice), *khanqah* (hostel) and *zawiya* (oratory) in cities like Cairo and Damascus. These were often built at the graves of beloved Sufi *shaykh*s, with a tomb chamber attached. In contrast to the somewhat more advanced state of knowledge on such shrines in Turkey and Iran, the subject of Sufi shrines in the central

Islamic lands is yet in the early stages of investigation, and many important sites of *ziyara* have yet to be researched or published. But it is nonetheless apparent that such sites played a critical and growing role in the lives of pious Muslims from the medieval period onward.[74] Pilgrimage guides like those written by Ibn al-Zayyat and al-Sakhawi in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mention numerous *zawiya*s and *ribat*s that attracted pilgrims.[75] Indeed, by the early fourteenth century, a traveler like Ibn Battuta could journey for a quarter of a century and never pay for a night's lodging, relying instead on the network of madrasas and shrine centers that grew up around the graves of Sufis and other holy figures.

In Egypt, such sites have a long history. Although initially Sufi *shaykh*s lodged humbly in the "corners" (*zawiya*s) of mosques, it was not long before purpose-built *khanqah*s and formally-planned *zawiya*s began to appear. In Cairo in the Mamluk period, the construction of *khanqah*s and *zawiya*s at the graves of Sufi saints proliferated, such that intense competition developed for land and resources. The desire of pious Muslims to be buried near saints in order to benefit from their *baraka* (blessed emanations) led to abuses in some cases – as when a corrupt shrine overseer accepted payments for allowing the burial of impious people.[76] Many shrines evolved over time into complexes with multiple functions. The shrine of Zayn al-Din Yusuf, a popular Sufi saint who died in 1297, is located in the Qarafa al-Kubra cemetery (W-Fig. 7). Although it initially consisted only of a small space adjacent to the tomb, in 1325 it was enlarged to a four-iwan plan, creating areas that could serve various needs, from Friday prayer to Sufi gatherings for recitation and dancing. Eventually the building was graced with a tall, gadrooned dome, an elegant *muqarnas* entrance portal, and living quarters for Sufi

followers.[77] In addition to Cairo, many towns and villages continue to benefit from the presence of such tombs, as at the shrine of the important *shaykh* Ahmad al-Badawi in the delta town of Tanta. Each year, on the saint's *mawlid* (birthday celebration), Tanta is filled with pious revelers who spend the week in an atmosphere of carnival. Similarly, the shrine for Shaykh Yusuf Abu'l Hajjaj at Luxor, located at the center of the ruined Pharaonic Temple of Karnak, is a beloved site of pilgrimage.[78]

In the Syrian region and in Iraq, too, such sites proliferated in the medieval period, and many continue to be visited today. In the twelfth-fifteenth centuries, the Sufi order of the Qadariyya spread into the Syrian region from Iraq, becoming prominent in Jerusalem and many other Palestinian cities.[79] Sufi saints played an important role in the Islamization of the landscape by virtue of their numerous *ribats* and tombs, which became sites of pilgrimage and devotion.[80] In Syria, a similar expansion of Sufi orders and affiliations occurred in the same period.[81] Until today, Damascenes visit shrines built for medieval Sufis like Ibn 'Arabi and Shaykh Arslan,[82] and Sufism retains a prominent place in contemporary worship.

Shrines initially built in the medieval period were continuously added to and enlarged. In Iraq, birthplace of many of the Sufi orders, the founder of the Qadariyya order 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (1077-1166) is venerated at his shrine in Baghdad, and is one of the most important sanctuaries in Iraq. Originally, the site was his madrasa, but after his death, it was transformed into a site for pilgrimage. It has undergone no less than five documented reconstructions since its founding in the twelfth century.[83] Another Sufi site, the Suhrawardi shrine, located in Baghdad's eastern quarter of al-Rusafa, is also an example of this pattern (Fig. 6). It was built at the grave of the Sufi *shaykh* and Shafi'i

scholar ‘Umar al-Suhrawardi (d. 1234). One of the great medieval mystics, ‘Umar al-Suhrawardi was a nephew of the founder of the Suhrawardiyya order and a close confidante of the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Nasir. Sometime after his death in the thirteenth century, a cubical tomb was built over his grave, with a towering conical stalactite dome. It was renewed a century later in 1334, then again in 1511, when a spacious mosque was added to the tomb. Finally, this mosque was replaced by the present one in the Ottoman period, with episodes of construction in 1833 and 1855 (W-Fig. 8).[84]

Such continuous processes of restoration and renovation speak to one of the primary characteristics of shrines in Islamic lands: their representation of a true, living architecture. For unlike many more conservative structures, such as mosques or madrasas, shrines were, and are, subjected to a constant process of intervention and renewal. It is not unusual for such transformations to have entirely obscured the original building.[85] While these tangled architectural legacies often make shrines a difficult subject of study, they also speak more powerfully than words of their histories as flexible sites of communal cohesion and identity, and of their place in the hearts of the people.

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1. Recent research on Jewish and Christian saint veneration includes: James Howard-

2. On these sites, see: Earl Baldwin-Smith, *Early Churches in Syria* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1929); Dianne Van de Zande, “The Cult of Saint Sergius in its Socio-Political Context,” *Eastern Christian Art* 1 (2004), 141-52; J.-L. Biscop and Jean-Pierre Sodini, “Travaux récents au sanctuaire syrien de saint Syméon le Stylite (Qal’at Sem’an),” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’académie des inscriptions et des belles letters* (April-June 1983), 335-372; Hadjar, A., *The Church of St. Simeon the Stylite and*

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3. On the shrine of Ezekiel, see Meri, *Cult*, pp. 229-40, on Coptic sites in Egypt, David Frankfurter, *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

4. Zayde Antrim, *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

5. For detailed descriptions of Muslim shrine types, see Oleg Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures, Notes and Documents." *Ars Orientalis* 6 (1966), 9-12, Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 253-330; Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyara and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 26-38; and Meri, *Cult*, 262-72.

6. Yaqut al-Hamawi, *Kitab Mu'jam al-Buldan* (Dictionary of Countries), ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866), 2: 589; 'Ali al-Harawi, *Kitab al-isharat ila ma'rifat al-ziyarat*, (A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage), tr. Josef Meri, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 34-35. Other sources on relics include D.S. Margoliouth, "The Relics of the Prophet Mohammed," *The Moslem World* 27 (1937), 20-7; J.-M. Mouton, "De quelques reliques conserves à Damas au Moyen-Âge: Stratégie politique et religiosité populaire sous les Bourides," *Annales Islamologiques* 27 (1993), 245-54;

Meri, *Cult*, 17 and 108-117, and Daniella Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety in Medieval Syria: Mosques, Cemeteries, and Sermons under the Zangids and Ayyubids (1146-1260)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 55-57.

7. On *baraka*, see Taylor, *Vicinity*, 51-55, 127-167; Meri, *Cult*, 101-108.

8. On the differences between Muslim and Christian terminology and practices regarding saint veneration, see Meri, *Cult*, 5 and 118-119.

9. However, some biographical dictionaries did approach a form that resembles Christian hagiography, for example Diya' al-Din al-Maqdisi al-Hanbali (d. 1245), *al-Hikayat al-uqtabbasa fi Karamat Mashayikh al-Ard al-Muqaddasa* (The Cited Tales of the Wondrous Doings of the Shaykhs of the Holy Land), pt. 3, MS. Al-Asad Library, Damascus, no. 1039 (formerly MS. al-Zahiriyya, Damascus, fols. 91-99), edited and translated by Talmon-Heller, *Crusades* 1 (2002), 111-154. See also Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety*, 16.

10. Werner Diem and Marco Schöller, *The Living and the Dead in Islam: Epitaphs in Context* (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 2004), 2: 67; Meri, *Cult*, 127.

11. Diem and Schöller, *Living and the Dead*, 2: 171. For a comprehensive discussion of tomb building in Sunni legal theory and practice, see Ibid.,169-293.

12. Oleg Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures, Notes and Documents," *Ars Orientalis* 6 (1966): 8.

13. Ibid., 12. The permissibility of shrine visitation has been the subject of much scholarly debate, see Diem and Schöller, *Living and the Dead*, 2: 67-82. For some prior discussions see Yusuf Raghib, "Les premiers monuments funéraires de l'Islam," *Annales Islamologiques* 9 (1970), 21-36; Christopher Taylor, "Reevaluating the Shi'i Role in the

Development of Monumental Islamic Funerary Architecture: The case of Egypt," *Muqarnas* 9 (1992), pp. 1-10; Thomas Leisten, *Architektur für Tote* (Architecture for the Dead) (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1998); and most recently Leor Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave. Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: 2007).

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15. Taylor, *Vicinity*, 195-218; Meri, *Cult*, 126-40.

16. Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety*, 183.

17. Diem and Schöller, *Living and the Dead*, 251-23; Thomas Leisten, "Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis: Some Aspects of Attitudes in the Shari'a toward Funerary Architecture," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990), 14.

18. For a critique of the notion that Shi'ism caused the growth of saint veneration, see Taylor, "Reevaluating the Shi'i Role."

19. Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Les Anciens lieux de pèlerinage damascains d'après les sources arabes" *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 14 (1952-4), 65-85.

20. Meri, *Cult*, 48 (table); and Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety*, 184-87, 199-202.

21. Al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan al-taqasim fī ma'rifat al-aqalim* (The Best Divisions for the Knowledge of the Regions), ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1906), 151, 184; English transl. by B. Collins, *The Best Divisions for the Knowledge of the Regions*, (Reading, 2001), 128, 155.

22. J. Sadan, "Le Tombeau de Moïse à Jéricho et à Damas. Une Compétition entre deux lieux saints principalement à l'époque ottomane" *Revue des Études islamiques* 49 (1981),

59-100; John Renard, *Friends of God* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 199-200.

23. E. Reiner, "From Joshua to Jesus: The Transformation of a Biblical Story to a Local Myth: A Chapter in the Religious Life of the Galilean Jew," in A. Kofsky and G. Stroumsa, eds., *Sharing the Sacred. Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land,* (Jerusalem, 1998), 223-272.

24. Nasser Rabbat, "The Meaning of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock", *Muqarnas* 6 (1989), 12-21.

25. Saïd Nuseibeh and Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 43-51; Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* (2 vols.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

26. Renard, *Friends*, 197-98.

27. Al-Harawi, 24, 36, and 160.

28. Ibid., 66.

29. Ibid., 178.

30. Ibid., 12, Anne-Marie Eddé, *La Principauté Ayyoubide d'Alep (579/1183-658/1260)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999), 429-31.

31. Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)* (The Mamluk Architecture of Egypt and Syria) (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1992), 1: 72, 2: 30.

32. Meri, *Cult*, 195-199.

33. Palestinian Authority, *Pilgrimage, Sciences and Sufism: Islamic Art in the West Bank and Gaza* (Vienna: Museum with No Frontiers, 2004), 204.

34. L.H. Vincent and E. J. H. Mackay, *Hébron: Le Haram El-Khalil, Sepulture des Patriarches* (Hebron: The Sanctuary of Abraham, Sepulcher of the Patriarchs) (Paris, 1923), 218-25; Max van Berchem, "La Chaire de la mosquée d'Hébron et la martyrion de la tête de Husain à Ascalon," in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau* (Berlin, 1915), 298-31. Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle, 2001) 80-81. Tabbaa notes that many sections of the *minbar* are later in date, see n. 29.

35. Meri, *Cult*, 240-41.

36. Ibid., 244.

37. Meri, "Re-Appropriating Sacred Space: Medieval Muslims Seeking Elijah and al-Khadir", *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 5 (1999), 1-28.

38. Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety*, 190; Stephennie Mulder, *The Shrines of the 'Alids in Medieval Syria: Sunnis, Shi'is and the Architecture of Coexistence* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), Introduction.

39. Al-Harawi, 104.

40. Ibid., 176-7.

41. Ibid., 178, on the vestiges of the Chaldean Church, see Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris Gebiet* (An Archaeological Journey in the Euphrates and Tigris Region) (Berlin, 1922-12), vol. 2, 236-38.

42. For Ezekiel, see al-Harawi, 198. Al-Harawi places the Daniel shrine in Mosul, not Kirkuk where it is located today, see p. 178.

43. Al- Harawi, 32.

44. Ibid., 76, 74, 32, respectively. Sourdel-Thomine, "Les Anciens Lieux," 73-74.

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46. Immerzeel, "The Monastery of Saydnaya." See note 2 (above) for other sources on Christian sites of pilgrimage in Syria.

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48. Grabar, "Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures," 39.

49. Caroline Williams, "The Cult of 'Alid Saints in the Fatimid Monuments of Cairo, Part II: The Mausolea," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985), 55; Galila El Kadi and Alain Bonnamy, *Architecture for the Dead: Cairo's Medieval Metropolis* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2007), 21-127.

50. Mulder, *Shrines*, Chapter Three.

51. James Allan, *The Art and Architecture of Twelver Shi'ism: Iraq, Iran and the Indian Sub-continent* (in press), (London: Azimuth Editions, 2011), Chapter titled "Shrines' Architectural History." Moojen Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 40.

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53 Muhammad Ibn Hawqal, *Kitab surat al-ard* (The Book of the Image of the Earth), (Beirut : Dar Maktabat al-Hayah, 1964), 240.

54. Al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan al-taqasim*, 130.

55. Mulder, *Shrines*, Chapter Five.

56. al-Harawi, 30, 80, 96, 112, 156, 164, 178. The locations cited are Mosul, Balis and Nisibin in northern Syria, Damascus, Ascalon, Cairo, and al-Mahalla in lower Egypt. Meri, *Cult*, 191-95.

57. Meri, *Cult,* 190-98, Mulder, *Shrines*, Introduction.

58. Momen, 240.

59. Al-Harawi, 80, 83, Williams, 52, Mulder, *Shrines*, Chapter Five.

60. Jean Sauvaget, "Deux sanctuaires chiites d'Alep," *Syria* 9 (1928), 224–37; Ernst Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, pt. 2, Syrie du Nord. Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep* (Materials for a Corpus of Arabic Inscriptions, pt. 2, Northern Syria. Inscriptions and Monuments of Aleppo), (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1954-56), 236–48, pl. 237; Sauvaget, "Inventaire des monuments musulmans de la ville d'Alep," *Revue des Études Islamiques*, v. 5 (1931), 59–114, no. 20; Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Aleppo*, p. 410, no. 651; Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien* (Arabic Inscriptions in Syria) Beiruter Texte und Studien, v. 17, (Beirut: 1978), nos. 33 and 34; Tabbaa, *Constructions*, 110-121; Terry Allen, *Ayyûbid Architecture,* seventh edition, chapter 5, "al-Malik al-Zahir and the Ornamented Style" *s.*

v. 'Mashhad al-Husayn: History and Construction Campaigns' Electronic publication, http://sonic.net/~tallen/palmtree/ayyarch/ch5.htm#alep.mashh; Lorenz Korn, *Ayyubidische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien* (Ayyubid Architecture in Egypt and Syria), (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 2004), 218-219, and Mulder, *Shrines*, Chapter Two.

61. Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo*, (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 110.

62. Mulder, *Shrines*, Chapter Two.

63. Ibid.

64. Allan, *Art and Architecture*, chapter on "Sectarian Conflict."

[65] Mulder, *Shrines*.

66. Williams, "Cult, Part II," 55.

67. Ibid., 39-40.

68.For the Zengid-Ayyubid period (1146-1260) see Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety*, 184-98; for the Mamluk period (1250-1517) see Y. Frenkel, "Baybars and the Sacred Geography of *Bilad al-Sham*: A Chapter in the Islamisation of Syria's Landscape," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001), 153-170.

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70. Mulder, "The Mausoleum of Imam al-Shafi'i" *Muqarnas* 23 (2006), 15-46.

71. Ibn al-Jubayr, *Rihlat ibn Jubayr* (The Travels of Ibn Jubayr) (Beirut: Dar wa-Maktabat al-Hilal, 1981) p. 21. Broadhurst, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London, J. Cape: 1952) p. 40.

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74. Korn, *Ayyubidische Architektur*, 60-67.

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76. Taylor, *Vicinity*, 51.

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82. Meri, *Cult*, 174-177, 209-210.

83. Vincenzo Strika and Jabir Khalil, *The Islamic Architecture of Baghdad* (Naples: Instituto Universitario Orientale, 1987), 39-42.

84. Ibid., 51.

85. Mulder, *Shrines*, Chapter Four.

Suggestions for Further Reading

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<u>Mulder, Shrines, Print Captions</u>

1. Haram al-Ibrahimi Mosque (Cave of the Patriarchs), Hebron, Palestine, c. 20 B.C. – A.D. 1455. (Photo: Sonia Halliday Photographs)

2. Shrine of Imam 'Ali, Najaf, Iraq, founded in the late eighth century and continuously renovated (most recently in 2008). (Photo: Hussain Aldurazi)

3. Shrine for al-Husayn, Aleppo, Syria, 1183-1260. (Photo: Author)

4. Portal, Shrine for al-Husayn, Aleppo, Syria, 1196. (Photo: Author)

5. Tomb of Imam al-Shafi'i, Cairo, Egypt, 1211. (Photo: Author)

6. Shrine of Suhrawardi, Baghdad, Iraq, thirteenth-nineteenth centuries. (Photo: Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum)

Mulder, Shrines, Web Captions

W-1. Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, Israel, 691. (Photo: DeA Picture Library / Art Resource, NY)

W- 2. Pulpit of Haram al-Ibrahimi Mosque (Cave of the Patriarchs), Hebron, Palestine, 1091-92. (Photo: Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum)

W- 3. Twelver Shi'i devotees in procession to the shrine of al-Husayn in the Umayyad Mosque, Damascus, Syria, during the observance of the 'Ashura, 2005. (Photo: Author)

W-4. Shrine for al-Husayn, Cairo, Egypt, 1154 and 1873. (Photo: Author)

W- 5. Plan, Shrine for al-Husayn, Aleppo, Syria, 1183-1260. (Drawing Credit: Jean-Claude David)

W- 6. Cenotaph of Imam al-Shafi'i, Cairo, Egypt, 1178. (Photo: Yasser Tabbaa).

W- 7. Dome, Shrine of Zayn al-Din Yusuf, Cairo, Egypt, 1298-1336. (Photo: Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum)

W- 8. Plan, Suhrawardi Shrine, Baghdad, Iraq, 1298-1336. (Drawing Credit: Ministry of Waqfs, Baghdad).

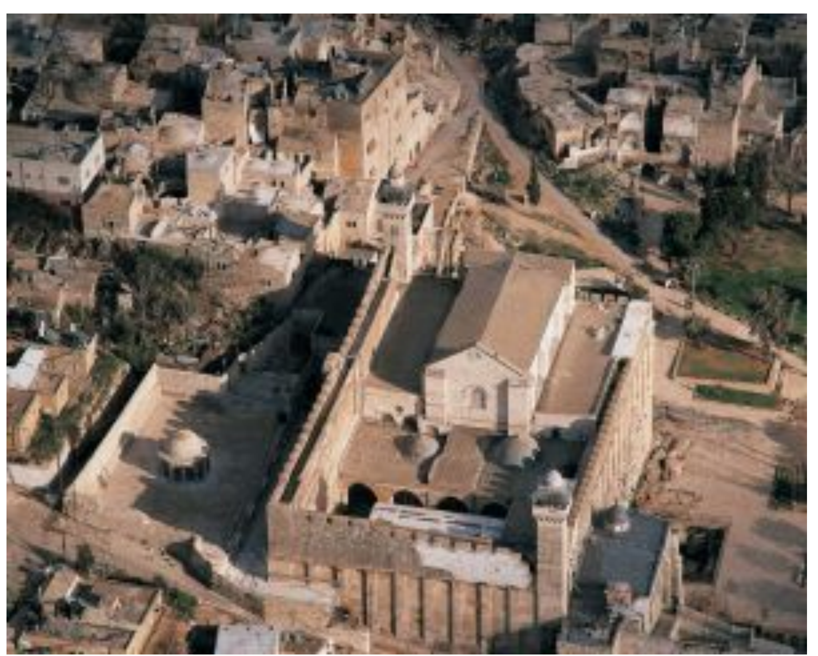


Fig. 1. Haram al-Ibrahimi Mosque (Cave of the Patriarchs), Hebron, Palestine, c. 20 B.C. – A.D. 1455. (Photo: Sonia Halliday Photographs)



Fig. 2. Shrine of Imam ‘Ali, Najaf, Iraq, founded in the late eighth century and continuously renovated (most recently in 2008). (Photo: Hussain Aldurazi)



Fig. 3. Shrine for al-Husayn, Aleppo, Syria, 1183-1260. (Photo: Author)



Fig. 4. Portal, Shrine for al-Husayn, Aleppo, Syria, 1196. (Photo: Author)

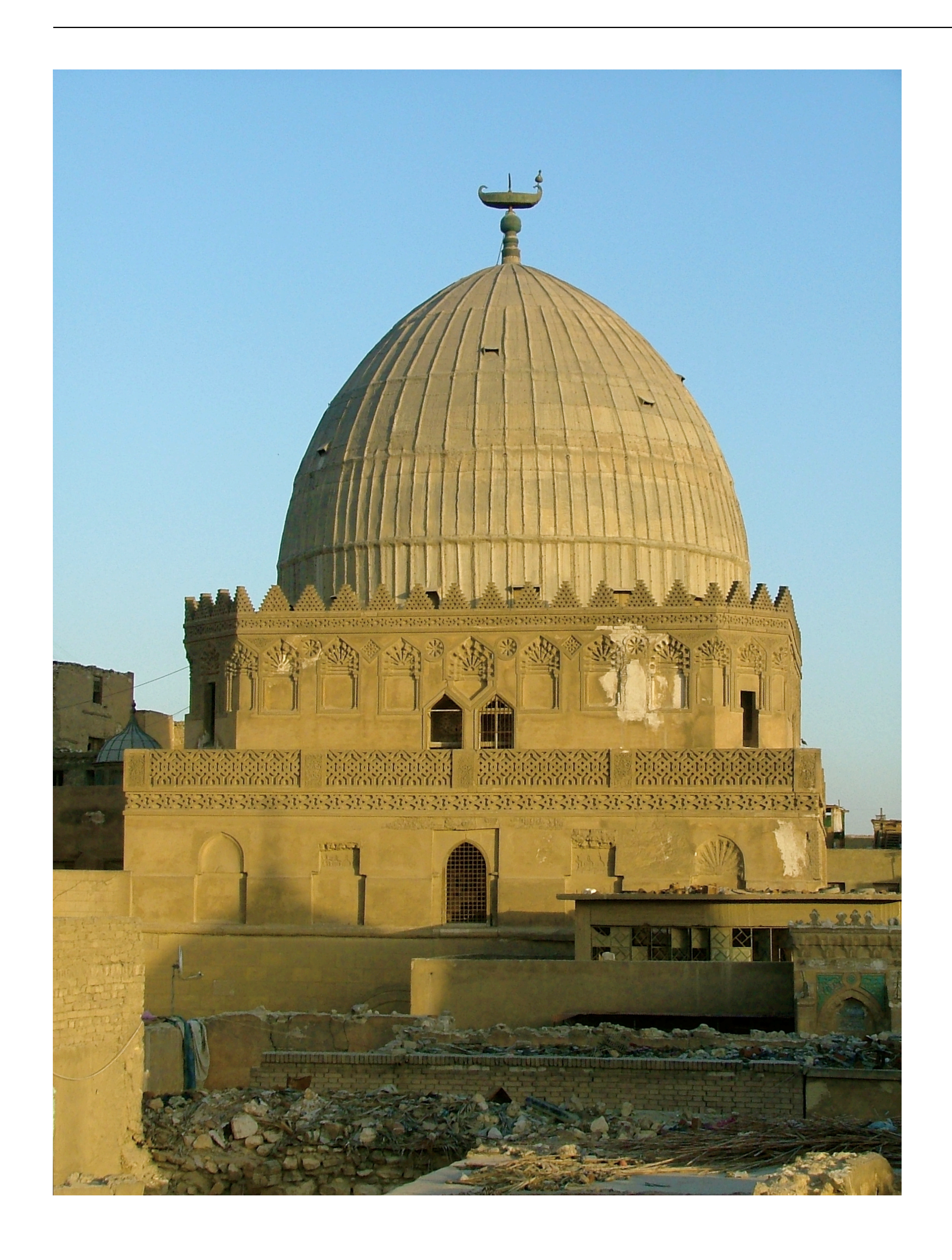


Fig. 5. Tomb of Imam al-Shafi'i, Cairo, Egypt, 1211. (Photo: Author)



Fig. 6. Shrine of Suhrawardi, Baghdad, Iraq, thirteenth-ninteenth centuries. (Photo: Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum)



W-Fig. 1. Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, Israel, 691. (Photo: DeA Picture Library / Art Resource, NY)



W-Fig. 2. Pulpit of Haram al-Ibrahimi Mosque (Cave of the Patriarchs), Hebron, West Bank, 1091-92. (Photo: Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum)



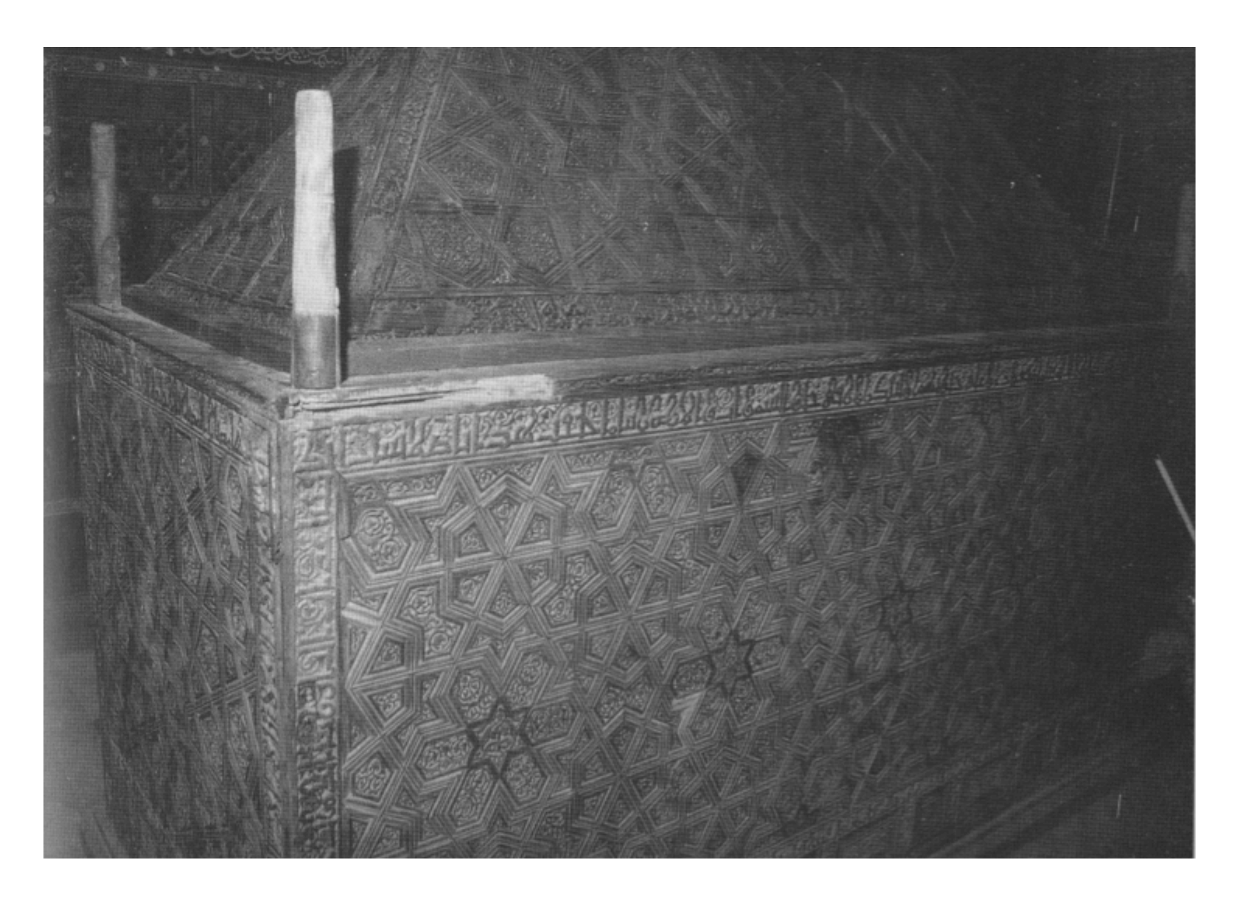
W-Fig. 3. Twelver Shi’i devotees in procession to the shrine of al-Husayn in the Umayyad Mosque, Damascus, Syria, during the observance of the ‘Ashura, 2005. (Photo: Author)



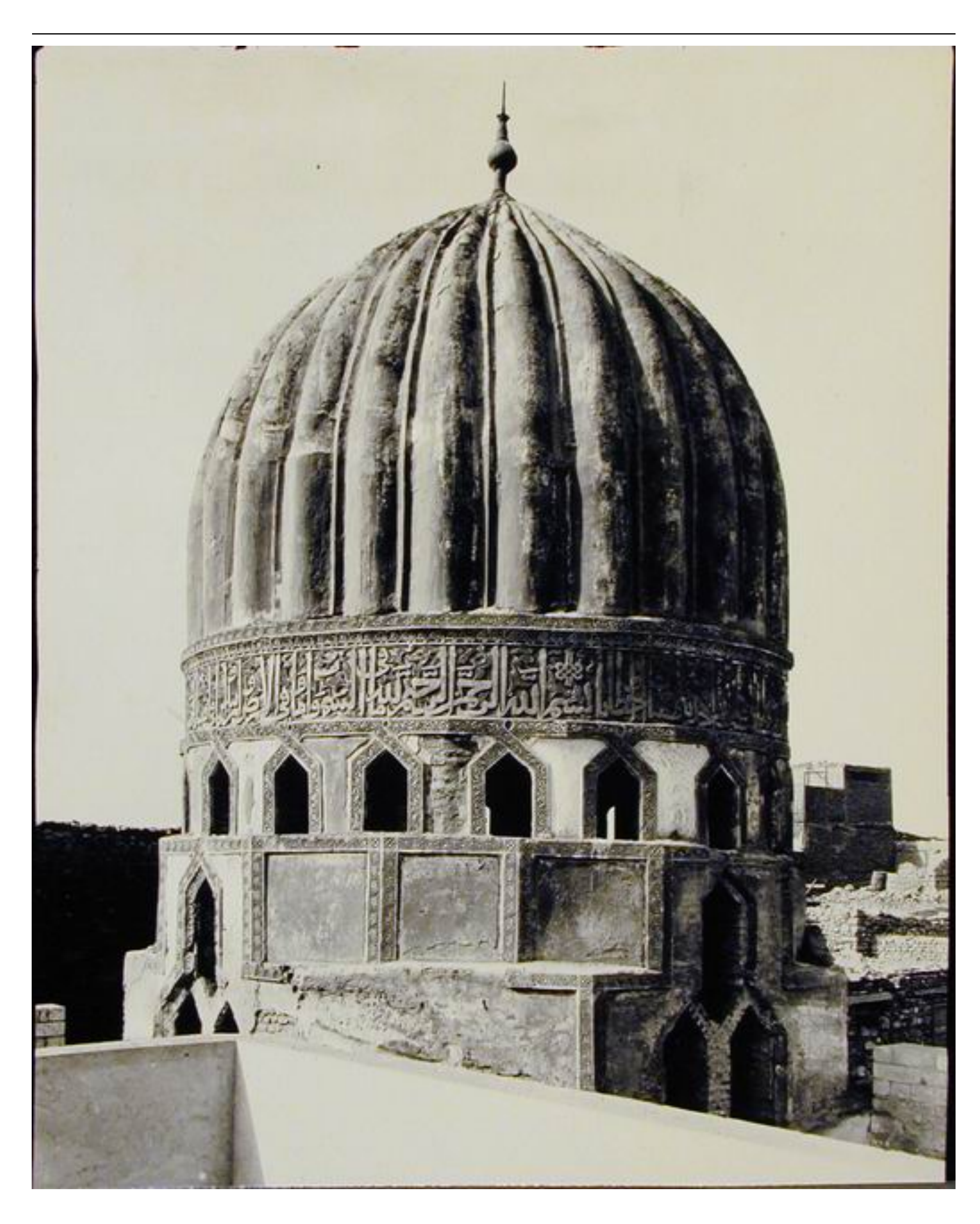
W-Fig. 4. Shrine for al-Husayn, Cairo, Egypt, 1154 and 1873. (Photo: Author)



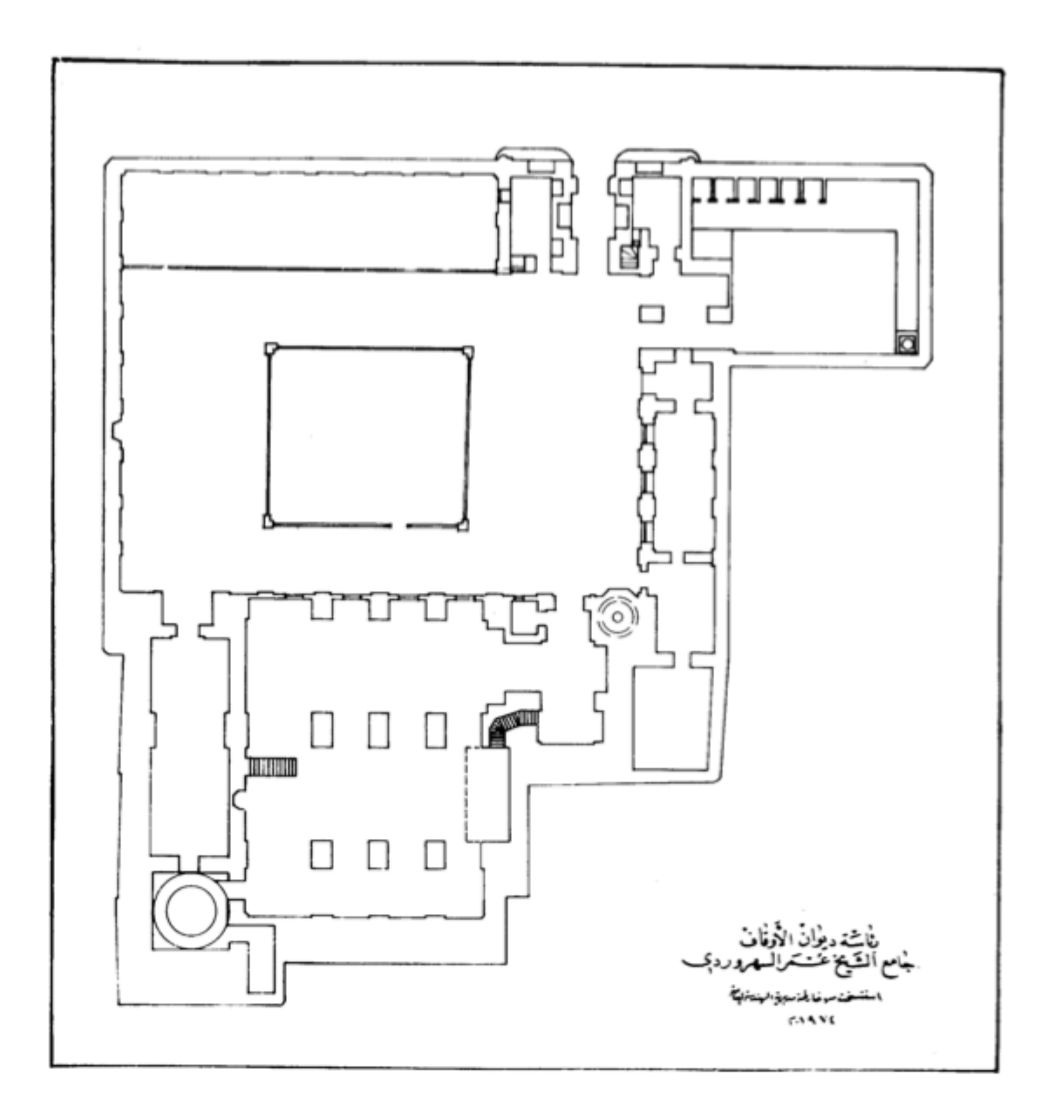
W-Fig. 5. Plan, Shrine for al-Husayn, Aleppo, Syria, 1183-1260. (Drawing Credit: Jean-Claude David)



W-Fig. 6. Cenotaph of Imam al-Shafi'i, Cairo, Egypt, 1178. (Photo: Yasser Tabbaa).



W-Fig. 7. Dome, Shrine of Zayn al-Din Yusuf, Cairo, Egypt, 1298-1336. (Photo: Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum)



W-Fig. 8. Plan, Suhrawardi Shrine, Baghdad, Iraq, 1298-1336. (Drawing Credit: Ministry of Waqfs, Baghdad).